

VOTES FOR WOMEN

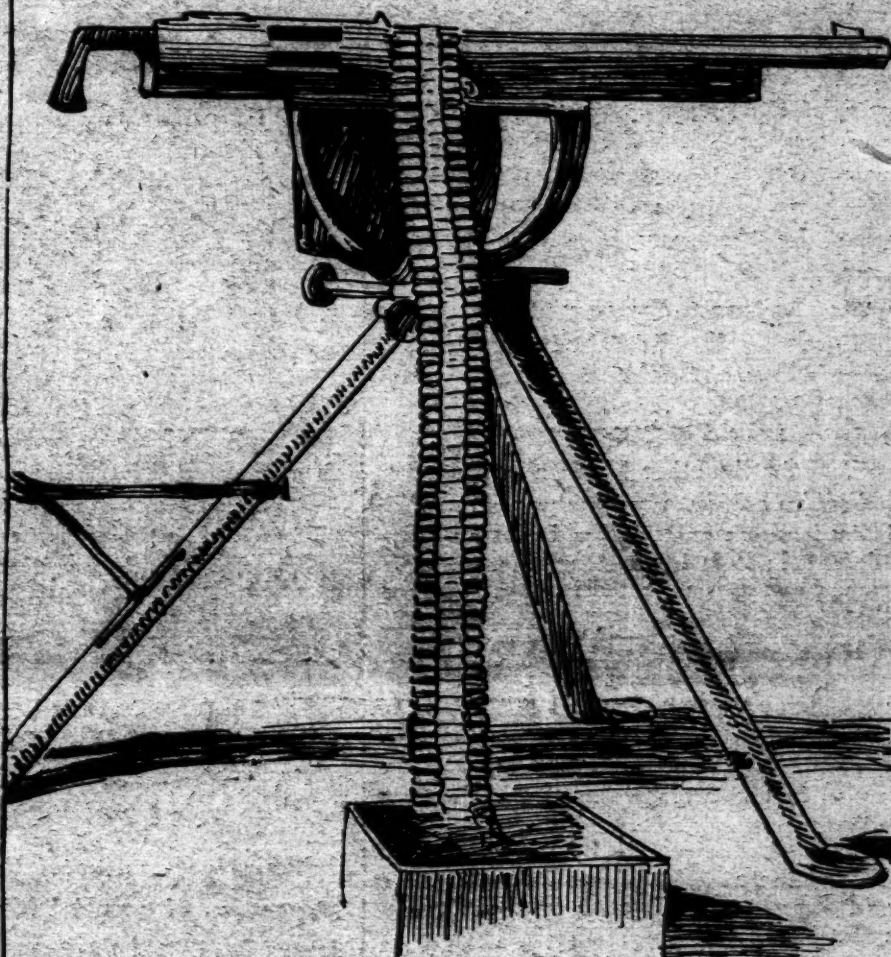
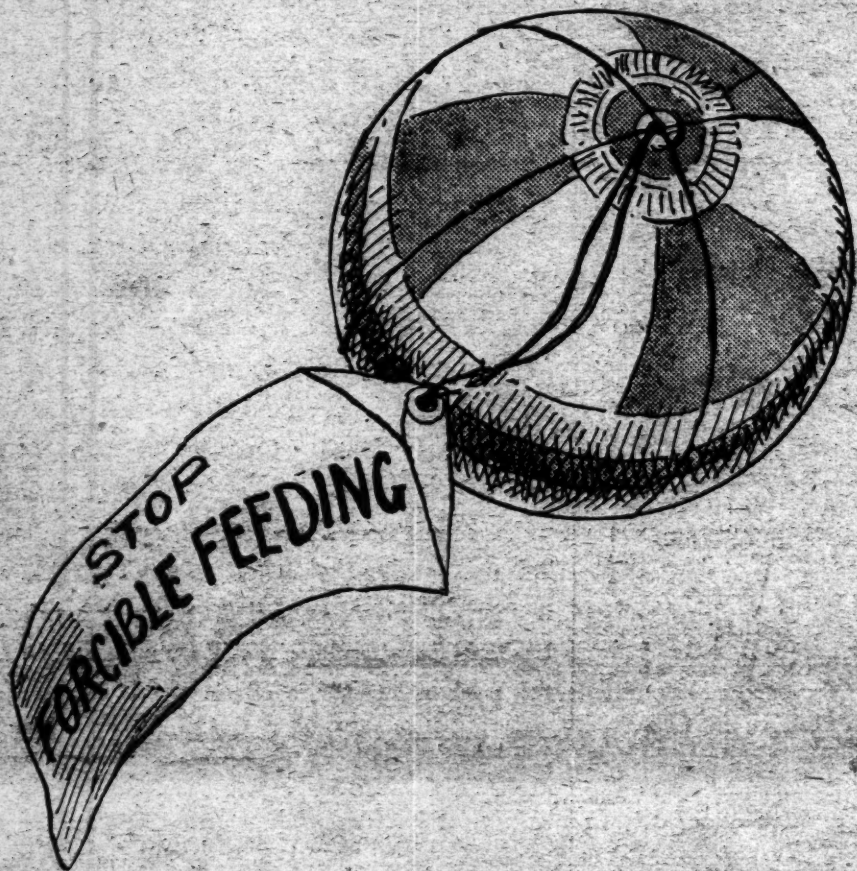
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WHAT ARE WE COMING TO?



A PATRIOT

A woman who put this harmless little rubber ball, with a paper attached protesting against Forcible Feeding, into the King's carriage at Edinburgh, last Saturday, was arrested.

Sir Edward Carson, who placed this death-dealing machine gun into position, ready if necessary to shoot down the King's soldiers, is still at liberty.

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The utmost indignation has been aroused by the revolting story of the treatment of Miss Gordon, a suffragist, in a Scottish prison. The appalling details of the method of forcible feeding adopted in her case, which we felt compelled, in the interests of humanity, to publish last week, have evoked a passionate protest on all sides.

In the House of Commons

A number of men went down to the House of Commons on Wednesday in last week to lobby their

Members of Parliament on this question, and on Thursday in this week, after we go to press, a question is being asked by Lord Hugh Cecil of Mr. McKinnon Wood, who, as Secretary of State for Scotland, is the Minister responsible. Unless Mr. McKinnon Wood can show either that the statement we published is entirely incorrect or that the action was done without his knowledge, and that he has now given explicit orders that such an outrage is never to be perpetrated again, we know that we are only expressing the feeling of all decent men and women in saying that he ought to be driven permanently out of public life. Meanwhile we learn that two women have taken the law into their own hands and have assaulted Mr. McKinnon Wood as he was leaving his house in Portland Place.

Fatal Effects of Forcible Feeding

But it is not enough to condemn forcible feeding of this peculiarly horrible kind. Forcible feeding by whatever method it is performed is a brutal outrage which cannot be allowed to continue in operation. Adopted against suffrage prisoners originally by Lord Gladstone in 1909, it was shown up by the heroism of Lady Constance Lytton, whose health was so broken down by it that she is now a permanent invalid. Many other less-known suffrage prisoners have also been laid up for months in consequence of it, and at least one has died from the after effects.

The Cat and Mouse Act as a Substitute

When the outcry against forcible feeding had reached a degree of intensity which could no longer be disregarded, Mr. McKenna declared his hope and intention of bringing it to an end if he were permitted to pass into law a new engine of coercion known as the Cat and Mouse Act, and it was only on the understanding that this was to be regarded as a substitute for forcible feeding that it was supported by Members of Parliament and by the Liberal Press and carried. It is true that no specific pledge was given, but Mr. McKenna made it clear that he thought forcible feeding would altogether cease.

Unconvicted Prisoners

Yet to-day we find forcible feeding going on precisely as before. And not only are women convicted of grave offences being treated in this way, but also women who are awaiting trial, and therefore presumed to be innocent. In the recent case against members of the W.S.P.U., not only were Miss Grace Roe and Miss Nellie Hall so treated while in prison on remand, bail having been refused, but also (if the information which reaches us is correct) Miss Jameson, with regard to whom the jury found a verdict of not guilty.

No Justification for Torture

We are glad to know that the Bishops and Free Church clergy are taking the matter up, and that

the doctors, refusing the offer of a private interview with Mr. McKenna last Wednesday afternoon, are holding out for a public deputation. Forcible feeding of resisting prisoners is torture which no plea of urgency or necessity can justify any more than torture in days gone by could be justified by the heinousness of the crimes committed or on the ground that evidence must be wrung from a reluctant witness.

If Coercion Involves Torture it is Impossible

One point more requires to be made clear. It is not for us to find an alternative method of coercing women; it is for Mr. McKenna and the Government which he represents. Our view is that women ought to be treated as citizens. The Government's denial of this elemental right has driven some women into active rebellion, and that rebellion it is now endeavouring to keep within limits by coercion. But if coercion cannot be successful without torture—even if torture were really proving efficacious, which it is not—then it is the business of all decent persons to tell the Government that such coercion cannot be allowed, and that the only other remedy, namely, the redress of grievances, must be substituted in its place.

The "Marriage Tax"

The new clause relating to the income tax of married persons was being discussed in the House of Commons on Wednesday last as we went to press. Mr. Cassel was to move an amendment separating entirely the incomes of husband and wife for the purpose of income tax. This amendment would relieve married couples of the present unjust "marriage" tax, amounting, by Mr. Lloyd George's own admission, to over £2,000,000 a year, and would, for the first time, place a married woman's property on the footing involved by the passage of the Married Women's Property Acts.

Women in Church Government

By two decisions of the Representative Church Council, carried by overwhelming majorities, women have obtained the right to vote in the election of Church Councils and to become eligible for parochial Church Councils. On the other hand, a proposal to make them eligible as lay representatives on the Ruridecanal Conferences and on the Diocesan Conference was defeated; it is interesting to note, however, that the Bishops present voted in favour of the passage of the resolution by 13 to 8, but they were defeated by the lower clergy and laity.

Items of Interest

The Northern Men's Federation have carried a resolution calling upon electors to refrain from giving support to the Liberal Party at the next election owing to the way in which the suffrage question has been dealt with.

A large number of Hampstead Liberals have expressed their intention of refraining from voting for or supporting the prospective Liberal candidate, who is an anti-suffragist.

The delegates to the Overseas Conference have asked Mr. Asquith to receive them in deputation, to lay before him their demand for the enfranchisement of British women and for the amendment of the Nationalisation Bill.

A proposal to make women eligible for the New South Wales Parliament is included among the reforms foreshadowed in the Governor's speech at the opening of the Session.

A disgraceful story of the entry of police into a private house is told in a letter on page 649. Apparently the only excuse was that someone in another part of the house had called out "Votes for Women" as the King's carriage was passing. We are rapidly approaching the conditions of Russia!

MR. & MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE

Places they expect to visit on their tour

In response to a large number of enquiries we are able to state that the plans of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence are as follows: VOTES FOR WOMEN newspaper will be handed over to the United Suffragists in the middle of August, so that the first number under the new auspices will be that of August 21.

Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence will sail in the ss. Alsatian, of the Allan Line, on Friday, October 9, reaching Montreal about October 16. After spending a few days in Canada visiting Ottawa and Toronto, they will cross into the States, and hope to hold meetings in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Chicago. From there, about the beginning of November, they will journey west to Vancouver, Victoria B.C., Seattle, Portland, and San Francisco.

After leaving America, it is their intention to visit New Zealand (December), Australia (January and February), China (March), and Japan (April), returning to England, via the Transiberian Railway, at the beginning of May.

A POOR WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

By T. O'Meara

Illustrated by Helen Havers

It is comical, it really is comical, to see those very people who have hitherto been most contemptuous towards the claims of the poor for a little more share in the good things of life, now striving like any Hyde Park orator in the eighties to arouse the indignation of the working classes against the Suffrage Movement as "a rich woman's movement," artfully designed for "the further exploitation of the workers." And they actually expect the working classes to respond; and are pained and hurt when the working classes only respond in the now classical manner of Eliza Doolittle.

Grotesque Perversions of the Press

For the working classes, though long-suffering and tolerant beyond belief or reason, are not really quite such fools as all that; and they recognise the whole Anti-Suffrage campaign—the feeble slanders and



The Anarchist of Melodrama

grotesque perversions of the reactionary Press, the suppression of essential facts in public speeches, the dreary futility of Parliamentary debates, the furious victimisation of one or two marked figures in the progressive movement, as something very like what they have seen before under slightly different circumstances. For that quaint fabulous monster of vulgar plutocratic imagination, the ideal British workman, with his enormous bodily girth and unlimited capacity for beer is being ousted now by a quainter creature still, the ideal Suffragette. The ideal British Workman, I seem to remember, was always backed by a shadowy sinister figure in a cloak and a slouch hat: the diabolical Anarchist of popular melodrama; a singularly altruistic villain, who perpetually "supplied the funds" for revolution, instead of putting them in his own pocket and bolting, as revolutionary villains in real life are so apt to do. Similarly, the ideal Suffragette (who, poor creature, is so lost to all sense of shame that she has sold her soul for the extremely modest and respectable sounding wage of thirty shillings a week) is backed by a group of Unknown Females, immensely rich, whose extraordinary hobby it is to finance the burning down of eligible county mansions, eminently suitable, one might suppose, for their own occupation. Now, honestly, my dear Antia, do you think those sceptical and outspoken people, the working classes, are going to believe this? Not—er—likely!

"The Multitudinous Tiny Sums"

But if you must have proof of the extent to which your imaginations have been running away with you,

pray examine the subscription lists of any Suffrage organisation. They are so familiar to us now; and they make us so proud, and yet bring rather a lump into our throats at the same time. Two or three guineas and half-guineas from well-known literary or artistic people whose warm-hearted chivalry burns strong and steadily for the Cause; and then that long procession of little shillings and sixpences, every one standing for some little personal vanity foregone, some little treat or luxury sacrificed by some little obscure teacher or typist or student or house-mother. No movement ever lived or grew or did anything but blow itself up and burst like the frog in the fable, fed solely from the monies of the rich; it is the multitudinous tiny sums, and the spirit of real quiet enthusiasm they stand for, that give the stability and power, the strength and the balance.

"On Whom the Law Falls Heaviest"

And then there is another point to consider; the working classes know very well, from hard personal experience, upon just whom the whole weight of our law falls heaviest, to just whom a say in the making of our law is most necessary and important. Not the Rich Lady; she will never come into collision with the law at all, unless her motor-car chances to exceed the speed limit, or unless she is afflicted with kleptomania, and even then the collision will be a very soft and gentle bump. If she has the misfortune to be unhappily married, her money will set her free; if her children are delicate or need special care, her money will give them all that money can buy; if her husband dies young, she will be a rich widow. Not so the poor woman, who finds the law hampering her most bewilderingly at every turn, and who at present can only stand, exasperated and helpless, before the blind brute force of it.

The One Who Needs Reforms

For whose benefit, too, are those primary reforms upon which all suffragists have set their hearts? Is it the Rich Lady who must shift for herself and go on short commons at the time of her maternity? Is it the Rich Lady's babies who need protection from the dangers of the streets? Is it the Rich Lady who stands to gain directly by better Housing Regulations, by saner Factory Acts, by an increased wage for working girls? Is it the Rich Lady who needs the chance of cheaper and easier divorce from a brutal husband? When the Rich Lady subscribes to the Suffrage Funds, she does so as much out of pure altruism and generosity as for any other reason—exactly as she might endow a cot at a hospital. Yet we do not denounce every hospital subscriber as a peculiarly cowardly and mean species



The Fabulous Rich Lady

of brute, satiating a secret lust for blood by employing somebody else to do the operations. Yet this would be quite as sane and logical an argument as the argument of the diabolical female mischief-maker leading her helpless enslaved pet militant on a string.

CHURCH AND STATE

Votes for Women Discussed in Convocation—Women to Sit on Church Councils—The Budget and Married Women—Liberal Voters Revolting Against Government

REBEL VOTERS

Scottish Electors to Oppose Liberal Government

An important resolution has been passed by the executive of the Northern Men's Federation with a view to action at the General Election. It runs as follows:—

"In view of the fact that during its tenure of office, and while it had the power and time to pass a Women's Suffrage Bill, the Liberal Government has withheld every measure of support from the women it has betrayed and then coerced, the executive of the Northern Men's Federation have decided to advise all members of the Federation to refuse any support to the Liberal Party at the General Election.

"The Northern Men's Federation considers that it would be dangerous to trust to the promises of a party which has not shown a sufficiently developed sense of honour in dealing with the question, and that it would be opposed to the interests of the nation and clean Government to return such a party again to power."

Since the men who passed the above resolution comprise Councillors, J.P.'s, and an ex-Provost, their protest is one that cannot fail to carry weight.

HAMPSTEAD LIBERAL SUFFRAGISTS

A large number of Hampstead Liberals (men and women) have sent a letter to the Hampstead Liberal Association regretting that it has adopted an Anti-Suffrage candidate in view of the fact that Woman Suffrage should be dealt with in a Government measure if Liberals are again returned to power, and saying that they will therefore be unable to support such a candidate, by their work or their votes, as the case may be.

This is the sort of letter that we hope every prospective Anti-Suffrage candidate is receiving in every constituency just now.

THE TAX ON MARRIAGE

The Chancellor's Resolution

Last Monday, in the House of Commons, the following resolution was put by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and carried: "That it is expedient to make provision in the Finance Bill for enabling income-tax (including supertax) in the case of married persons to be separately assessed and charged on the husband and the wife, and for enabling the amount payable in respect of income-tax (including supertax) by the husband or the wife to be recovered either from the husband or the wife or both from the husband and the wife."

MR. CASSEL'S AMENDMENT

We published last week the text of Mr. Lloyd George's proposed new clause dealing with the income-tax of married persons, which had not been reached in the debate on the Finance Bill in the House of Commons when we went to press on Wednesday. The Women's Tax Resistance League have circularised all the members who voted for the Conciliation Bill with a letter pointing out the unsatisfactory nature of the Chancellor's clause, and urging them to vote for Mr. Felix Cassel's amendment, which proposes simply that husband and wife should be treated as separate taxable units.

"This," concludes the letter, "is the only amendment of the existing law which offers a real solution."

THE AMOUNT OF THE TAX

Questions in the House

In the House of Commons last Monday, in answer to a question by Mr. Felix Cassel, Mr. Lloyd George said he could not order the re-examination of all income-tax returns, which would be necessary to obtain the number of married women of whose incomes the returns were made by their husbands, and the total amount of the income thus returned.

Mr. Cassel then asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer what is the amount which it is estimated that the revenue would lose if the incomes of husband and wife were treated as separate for the purpose of income-tax and supertax; and how is this estimate arrived at.

Mr. Lloyd George: No definite figures are available, but from the calculations which have been made it is estimated that the immediate loss to the revenue would amount to at least £2,000,000. This figure does not take into account the loss which would inevitably arise from the

transfer of income from husbands to wives for the purpose of avoiding taxation.

Mr. Cassel: How is it possible to arrive at that estimate without knowing the amounts?

Mr. Lloyd George: This estimate was made some years ago for the purpose of discussion on the question of the separation of husbands' and wives' incomes, and that is the conclusion they came to. Of course, it must very largely be a matter of estimate.

A PRESS COMMENT

Far from this penalty on marriage being justified, there is no vestige of excuse for not differentiating between the income by which a family and possibly dependants are supported, and the income that has no such charges upon it.—*Globe*.

BY-ELECTIONS

Mr. Austen Chamberlain was returned unopposed for West Birmingham last Tuesday.

It was decided, last week, not to contest the vacancy in East Worcestershire.

WHY NOT?

In the House of Commons last Tuesday, Mr. W. H. Cowan asked the Prime Minister whether his attention had been called to the fact that in opening the New South Wales Parliament on July 7 the Governor announced, among forthcoming legislation, a measure making women eligible to sit in Parliament, and whether, having regard to the services rendered by women as elected members of other public bodies in this country, as well as in certain legislative assemblies abroad, he would consider the advisability of taking the necessary steps, either coincidentally with the introduction of a measure for the enfranchisement of women as Parliamentary electors or otherwise, to make it possible for women to be elected and to sit as members of this House.

Mr. Asquith I am afraid I do not see my way to entertain my hon. friend's suggestion.

REGISTRATION OF NURSES

One of the Bills that are continually held up in Parliament for want of sufficient voting power behind them (because they deal primarily with the interests of women who are voteless) is the Nurses' Registration Bill. A strong memorial, praying that facilities may be granted for it in the House of Commons, has been addressed to the Prime Minister by the Central Committee for the State Registration of Nurses. It is signed by many influential names of matrons of hospitals and superintendents of nurses, comprising 354 in England and Wales, 83 in Scotland and 66 in Ireland.

WOMEN NURSES IN WAR

It was recently announced that a committee had been appointed to enquire into the working and organisation of Voluntary Aid Detachments. Mrs. St. Clair Stobart, the enterprising organiser of the Women's Convoy Corps which did such splendid work in the Balkan War, writes to the *Times* protesting against the entire exclusion of women from this committee.

"An Insult to All Women"

"The work of V.A.D.'s," she continues, "is primarily women's work, for it concerns the care of the sick and wounded, and I would differentially suggest that the committee should include some women doctors, some fully-qualified women nurses, together with some non-specialised women who have had experience as organisers of women and as commandants in women's Voluntary Aid Detachments. If women are incapable of taking a share in the organisation of work which is pre-eminently woman's work; they are incapable of responsibility in a national crisis, and the whole scheme of V.A.D.'s should be relegated to the sphere of drawing-room games. But if, as I maintain, women are very capable of participating in the organisation of work concerned with the sick and wounded, then the exclusion of the female sex from this committee of inquiry is an insult to all women and a special grievance to those thousands of women who have, throughout the country, ever since the inception of the scheme of V.A.D.'s, sacrificed much money, time, and energy in the cause of national defence."

We thoroughly endorse Mrs. Stobart's protest. A similar one should be made by all Ulsterwomen or Nationalist women asked to contribute money and service towards the preservation, or creation, of a Government in which they are not con-

sidered good enough to have a voice; by all party women considered fit to canvass for votes but not to possess votes themselves; by all women, in fact, who are asked to do the hard work of the community without sharing in its rights and privileges.

"IMPROVING" THE LADIES' GALLERY

Among a series of extensive improvements in the House of Commons, about

to be undertaken by the Board of Works, is included a lift to the Ladies' Gallery. There is no mention, however, of the only improvement in the Ladies' Gallery which would render that counterpart of the harem a fit place for self-respecting women to visit. Perhaps, after all, it is not surprising that the grille should remain, since the "improvements" in question were first initiated by Mr. Harcourt!

IN CONVOCATION

VOTES FOR WOMEN ON CHURCH COUNCILS

Two important resolutions were passed by the Representative Church Council, consisting of members of the two Houses of the Convocations of York and Canterbury, who met at the Church House, Westminster, on Thursday last week. The first gave women the right to vote in the election of church councils; and by the second women were made eligible for election to parochial church councils.

DEBATE ON THE WOMAN'S VOTE

The Bishop of Southwell moved an amendment substituting the word "persons" for "laymen," to a resolution passed by the Houses of Laymen defining the age and qualifications of electors to Church Councils.

The Dean of Canterbury and Lord Parmoor spoke against the amendment. The Dean of Durham and the Bishop of Hereford said they should support the extension of the Church franchise to women, but should oppose their admission to the Councils.

The Bishop of London

The Bishop of London said he could not imagine a greater blow for the Church than for them to decline at a time when women were struggling for the political franchise to give them the franchise in their own Church. They were not dealing with threatening people, but with a body of women who were only too anxious to serve their Church and their God.

Mr. Ocroft, a working man representative, said that when he saw the work which working women were doing in his parish, he could not refuse them the same privileges which they granted to men.

The Archbishop's Support

The Archbishop of York asked why should the mind of women be excluded from the mind of the Church? Was it that woman's mind was deficient in intelligence? Were not women more educated in regard to the great mission of their Church, its life, history, and services than the majority of men? He could not agree that the mind of women was lacking in the matter of experience or of judgment. When he advocated the granting of the franchise to women he was not thinking of young ladies of twenty-one who played lawn tennis and cultivated the society of the unbeneficed clergy, but of the hundreds of thousands of factory girls and mill girls in the East End of London, in Yorkshire, and in Lancashire who were examples of what women as well as Churchwomen ought to be.

The Division

The amendment was then put to the Council, the division being taken by orders. The result was:—Bishops—22 for, 8 against; clergy—90 for, 16 against; laity—76 for, 72 against. The amendment was therefore carried by 188 votes to 90, and was subsequently agreed to as the substantive motion.

THE SECOND RESOLUTION

The Archbishop of Canterbury moved from the chair that lay representatives on a parochial church council may be women. It was agreed to by a large majority, Lord Hugh Cecil being one of those who did not support the motion.

CRIMES AGAINST CHILDREN

On Wednesday last week the Upper House of Convocation of Canterbury, which met at Westminster, passed a resolution placing on record its "distress and apprehension" at the large number of assaults upon children now committed, and hoping that public opinion would support legislative proposals dealing with these evils and remedying conditions of life "such as ignorance and overcrowding," which conduced to this form of immorality, and would further uphold judges in their efforts to put it down. One or two of the speakers advocated corporal punishment, but it is not reported that any speaker mentioned the connection between the votelessness of women and the outrages committed upon little girls, except the Bishop of London, who is reported to have said that extreme acts of militancy on the part of those who were seeking the suffrage

were caused by the wild indignation which was felt at the apathy of men towards this class of crime and the feeling that in not having the vote women were deprived of one great means of redressing the wrongs of womanhood.

ON BOARD OF MISSIONS

The Lower House of Convocation ratified on the same day, by 61 votes to 31, the altered constitution of the Board of Missions agreed to by the Upper House (see last week's *VOTES FOR WOMEN*) by which women were to be admitted to the Board. The Dean of Canterbury and the Dean of Windsor spoke against their inclusion.

RURIDECANAL CONFERENCES

A motion by the Bishop of Southwell to make women eligible as lay representatives on the Ruridecanal Conferences and on the Diocesan Conference of the diocese was defeated as follows:—

Bishops, 13 for, 8 against; clergy, 38 for, 39 against; laity, 27 for, 94 against.

PRESS COMMENTS

It is significant that the voting showed laymen almost equally divided on the question, and an overwhelming majority of bishops and clergy in favour of the women's claims.—*Daily News*.

The effect of yesterday's vote, we take it, will be that women will henceforth be admitted to membership of the Parochial Church Councils, through them of the Houses of Laymen, and through them again to membership of the Representative Church Council. This is a body which, outside matters of doctrine, has very considerable legislative power, and the decision of yesterday marks an important step forward in the women's movement. It is the first recognition of the right of women to a share in national as distinct from local government. In other churches they have, we think, the right already, but they, after all, are not a part of the national machinery of the State in the same sense as an Established Church. It is to the credit of the Church that for once it should have taken the lead of the civil government in a measure of liberal enfranchisement.—*Manchester Guardian*.

A CHRISTIAN CONGREGATION

The church and congregation of the Portsmouth Unitarian Church have petitioned the Government to put a stop to the present disorder and also to coercion, saying they feel impelled to do so—

"Because of the grave and widespread disorder and destruction of property through militancy, because of the consequences of these disorders visited upon the women in prison, who are, as the public is informed by the Home Secretary, the prison doctors, and others, repeatedly brought to the last extremity short of death and then released only to be re-arrested to go through the same experience again, and because, in our judgment, both these evils are having a deplorable effect upon the minds and morals of the nation."

"We therefore, convinced on its merits and not by militancy of the justice of women's claim to be enfranchised, pray the Government to introduce a Woman's Suffrage Bill."

A Courageous Priest

This resolution was the outcome of a courageous address on the subject of forcible feeding given by the Rev. W. Thompson, who said that the militants were moved to these sacrifices by the thought of the great social evils of which women were the victims, and the inequalities of laws that made damage to property a far greater crime than the ruin of innocent children; and their convictions were as sacred to them as were those of the old-time martyrs who refused to drop a pinch of incense on the altar of Diana, or go through some seemingly simple religious form that would have saved their lives. As Mr. McKenna declared that it was impossible to let those who were brought to death's door by forcible feeding die in prison, and equally impossible to deport them elsewhere, there was but one way left to stop militancy, and that was to grant the vote to women.

FORCIBLE FEEDING SCANDAL

Torture Still Going On—Home Secretary Heckled in the House—Widespread Protests throughout the Country

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

What is "Urgency"?

Last Tuesday, in the House of Commons, the Home Secretary was considerably heckled on the subject of the forcible feeding of unconvicted prisoners. Mr. Wedgwood further wished to move the adjournment of the House, but on a verbal quibble raised by Mr. McKenna the Speaker refused leave.

Mr. J. C. Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary whether Miss Nellie Hall and Miss Grace Roe were or were not refused bail by Mr. Paul Taylor, the magistrate.

Mr. McKenna: The magistrate informs me that he expressly stated that he would refuse bail for these prisoners while on remand. He has no recollection of their applying for bail on the day on which they were committed for trial, but he says that had such application been made he would not have acceded to it.

Mr. Wedgwood: Is my right hon. friend aware that he stated in this House that these prisoners had not been refused bail, and, in view of this difficulty, will he give an undertaking to the House that in future suffragette prisoners who have not broken their bail hitherto shall be allowed bail?

Mr. McKenna: My hon. friend's recollection is quite correct. I stated that, so far as I was aware, no application had been made for bail, but it was in connection with a supplementary question, and I stated distinctly that I could not rely on my memory on the point. With regard to the second question, I have no powers in matters of bail.

Mr. T. M. Healy: Is it in accordance with the principles of justice to refuse prisoners bail, and then forcibly feed them while on remand?

Mr. McKenna: The two points do not relate to each other. On the subject of bail I stated in this House that if an application had been made to me I should have granted bail, but my duty when a prisoner is in prison is to keep her there as long as I can. (Laughter.)

Mr. Wedgwood asked whether, in view of the fact that those prisoners who had not been convicted were being refused bail, would the right hon. gentleman instruct the prison authorities not to have them forcibly fed until they were found guilty.

Mr. McKenna: I can give no instructions of that kind. But my hon. friend must not put his question in that form, in view of the fact that these prisoners are not receiving bail. As a rule I think these prisoners are on bail.

Mr. Healy: Is it in accordance with Home Office instructions that bail prisoners are being forcibly fed?

Mr. McKenna: The Home Office instructions do not concern themselves with bail at all. The Home Office instructions are to keep in prison those prisoners as to whom there is reason to believe that their liberty would be misused for the purpose of committing further dangerous crimes.

Lord R. Cecil: May I ask whether the Home Secretary did not send out a circular some years ago that bail should be granted where possible to prisoners under remand?

Mr. McKenna: I have no power to bail prisoners, but the noble Lord is quite right in his recollection that a circular of that kind was sent out some years ago. I have more than once stated that it would, in my judgment, be wise to grant bail in these cases.

Lord R. Cecil: Can the right hon. gentlemen tell the House whether Mr. Paul Taylor has given any reasons for his refusal to grant bail?

Mr. McKenna: No, he does not give any reason, and it is not necessary that he should.

At the close of questions, **Mr. Wedgwood** asked leave to move the adjournment of the House to call attention to a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the forcible feeding in prison of British subjects who had not been convicted of crime, and therefore should not have violence inflicted upon them.

Mr. McKenna, on a point of order, said there could be no definiteness or urgency in the matter, inasmuch as the persons referred to had since been convicted, and the practice of the forcible feeding of unconvicted prisoners had existed for some years.

The Speaker ruled the motion out of order as it related to something which had occurred in the past.

Mr. Wedgwood then amended his motion to make it read that British citizens, although not convicted of crime, were liable to forcible feeding in prison.

The Speaker said that destroyed the argument of definiteness. There could be no urgency in a matter where no case now existed, and where a case might not occur again.

HOME SECRETARY'S REPLY TO MEDICAL MEN

We published in our last issue the text of a letter signed by over seventy medical practitioners and sent to the Home Secretary as a protest against forcible feeding.

The following is the reply sent from the Home Office:—

"The petition appears to be based on the allegation that 'forcible feeding is being employed as a punishment and as a deterrent.' The Secretary of State desires me to say that there is no truth whatever in this allegation, and that nothing that he has ever said affords any justification for it. Forcible feeding has been used only where it is the medical treatment necessary to preserve the lives of prisoners who have refused to take food. It has been used for no other purpose.

"The prisoners who are now being forcibly fed include the two women who burned an hotel at Felixstowe, the woman who burned the Pavilion at Kew Gardens, the woman who burned Lady White's house at Englefield Green and who attacked the Rokeby Venus in the National Gallery, two women who damaged pictures in the Royal Academy, one who attempted to destroy an antiquity in the British Museum, and two who were found in possession of explosives on the occasion of the King's visit to Nottingham.

"The Secretary of State assumes that the petitioners do not desire that these women should be allowed to starve themselves to death in prison, and that what they ask for is their release. This would mean that the women would be set at liberty with the practical certainty that within a week or two they will burn more houses, destroy more works of art, and commit further outrages. In these circumstances the Secretary of State feels that it would be inconsistent with his duty to the public to grant the immediate release of the offenders, but if the petitioners out of their medical experience and skill can suggest any practicable method other than forcible feeding by which the life and health of prisoners who persistently starve themselves, and who ought not to be released, may be preserved, Mr. McKenna will be only too happy to consider it."

THE DOCTORS' REPLY

In a statement issued by the Medical Forcible Feeding Committee, an answer is given to the Home Secretary's reply to the doctors, in the course of which it is pointed out that he "does not even state whether he will or will not receive the deputation of medical men as requested. We have therefore repeated our application to him, and, of course, the deputation will answer any questions such as that contained in his letter of July 8. It seems to the committee that the policy of the Government in trying to suppress acts of violence by forcible feeding, instead of by investigating and trying to remedy the grievances felt by a large section of the people, is contrary to all the professed principles of the Liberal party, and, indeed, creates the very outrages it is intended to suppress."

HOME SECRETARY REFUSES PUBLIC DEPUTATION

The Home Secretary, in answer to this second application, consented to receive not more than six of the medical men at his room in the House of Commons last Wednesday afternoon at four o'clock. On presenting themselves with their own reporter at the hour named, they were told, however, that Mr. McKenna would not permit the meeting to be a public one; he refused to allow their own reporter, or any member of the Press to be present, and declined to let anything that passed be made public except through an official summary revised by himself. Under the circumstances, thinking no useful purpose could be served by a private interview of this kind, the doctors withdrew.

MISS GORDON'S CASE

A Question in the House

Following upon the meeting of the United Suffragists on July 7, when an appeal was made to the men in the audience to lobby their Members, some twenty or so went to the House of Commons on July 8 and interviewed their own and other Members, including Mr. Percy Hingworth, particularly on the scandal of the case of Miss Gordon, of whose forcible feeding in Perth prison we gave details last week.

Lord Hugh Cecil has put down a question for July 16, after we go to press, to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he has had his attention called to Miss Gordon's case; whether he has made

enquiry into the case; and what is the result of the enquiry. Mr. Tim Healy and Mr. Thomas Whyte have also put down questions dealing with this scandal.

REMINDER FOR MR. BIRRELL

When Mr. Birrell arrived at Bristol last Saturday a man stepped forward and threw a paper at him, shouting: "You cur! You torture women!" He was removed in the usual way, but for a wonder no charge was preferred against him.

FEELING IN THE COUNTRY

THE FREE CHURCHMEN

The *Christian Commonwealth* states that in five days 686 signatures have been received to the Free Churchmen's protest against forcible feeding which we printed last week. These signatures come from practically every town in the kingdom, and from all kinds of people, most of them accompanied with messages showing the utmost detestation of this hateful process.

"We believe," adds the *Commonwealth*, "that this feeling of horror has only to be focussed and expressed in order to bring the Government to its senses in this matter, or failing that, to sweep them from office when the opportunity comes."

"Degrades and Dehumanises"

Of the case of Miss Gordon, as reported in last week's *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, the *Christian Commonwealth* says:—

"That such inhuman methods of handling women can be employed by the authorities illustrates what one signatory to the protest has said: the practice of forcible feeding degrades and dehumanises those who sanction, order, and practise it. Five years ago we should have deemed these things incredible."

THE NORTHERN MEN

A fine protest has been forwarded to Mr. McKinnon-Wood, Secretary for Scotland, by the Northern Men's Federation, pointing out in six clauses why they "protest vehemently against any forcible feeding taking place in Scotland," and stating that its practice has set many reformers, "even among Liberals, in vehement opposition to the present Government; which will be shown at the elections."

It is a very able and well argued presentation of the human and just point of view with regard to the torture of political offenders. The following passage, referring to the alleged use of drugs in England, is well worth quoting:—

"We think that to dull the mind of anyone facing possible death (and no one can say that this might not happen by accident even with the greatest care) is an interference with the liberty and clarity of a soul on the point of requiring to meet its Maker. Who will judge in the end as between the tortured and the torturers."

THE WOMEN WRITERS'

In a letter to the Press the Hon. Sec. of the Women Writers' Suffrage League writes on behalf of the League to protest against the forcible feeding of prisoners on remand, adding: "It is a wholly illegal proceeding lately carried out hundreds of times upon untried and unconvicted persons, and still being practised at this moment in several cases."

ANOTHER PROTEST

The Order of the Star-in-the-East, meeting last Saturday at Manchester under the presidency of Lady Emily Lutyens, drew up a petition which was afterwards sent to the Home Secretary over sixty-four signatures. It prayed him to stop forcible feeding in our prisons, on the plea that "the process is as useless as it is cruel, and is entirely contrary to all Liberal principles and totally unworthy of a civilised country."

THE HOLLOWAY INQUISITION

Miss Mary Richardson, who was brought up from Holloway Gaol as a witness for the defence of Miss Nellie Hall, was asked by her why she screamed when she was forcibly fed. She replied:

"Because the tube will not go through my nose, so they cut my lips with their finger-nails to get my mouth open."

This is the year 1914. In the year 1588 the whole of England rose up in arms for fear that the Spanish Armada might be successful and the methods of the Spanish Inquisition be introduced into this country. It appears that they only put off the evil day three hundred and twenty-six years.

LIBERAL WOMAN'S LETTER

The Hon. Mrs. Leveson-Gower probably expresses the opinion of thousands of sensible and humane people in this country

in her letter to the *Times* (July 15), though it remains to be proved whether, after the treachery shown by the present Government, militancy would cease for anything short of the actual passage of a Government measure. She says:—

"As a 'Liberal' woman without representation in Parliament I crave the hospitality of your columns. Mr. McKenna has publicly stated that the women who are being forcibly fed are not criminals in the ordinary sense, but heroic fanatics in a cause which they believe to be the greatest in the world. Yet he says in effect that he must go on forcibly feeding these heroines, with all the torture which this implies, as otherwise either they would die or the majesty of the law would be outraged by their release.

"Is there not a more excellent way? Cannot the Government give a positive pledge to bring in a Bill next session, place it in the forefront of their programme, and leave the House free to vote upon it? If a definite promise were given on these lines I believe that militancy would cease, and that the women now in prison would submit to serve out their sentences without further resistance. So the majesty of the law would be vindicated. Ministers would save their face, and would be able to say they had not yielded to violence."

THE ROYAL PROGRESS OF TO-DAY

Militant Suffragists managed to remind the King and Queen more than once during their Northern progress last week of the continuance in His Majesty's prisons of forcible feeding. At Dalmeir they threw a banner out of a window opposite the Grand Stand, bearing the words, "Your Majesty, stop forcible feeding and torturing women." They also addressed the King on forcible feeding through the megaphone.

At Edinburgh, two women were arrested, but afterwards liberated, for attempting to display a placard in front of their Majesties on their return to Holyrood Palace.

At Dundee and at Perth several women were taken into custody but afterwards liberated, as the result of attempts to petition their Majesties. One woman actually managed to jump on the foot-board of their car before she was removed, while another seized the side of the car and was dragged along by it for several yards in a perilous position.

At Edinburgh, some fifty yards from St. Giles's Cathedral, last Sunday morning, a Suffragist succeeded in breaking through the line of police and throwing a rubber ball into the Royal carriage, attached to a message about forcible feeding. It fell on the Queen's lap.

A PREACHER PENALISED

It will be remembered that some little time ago the Rev. C. A. Wills uttered a protest in the pulpit against the practice of forcible feeding, and as a consequence of resultant friction with his vicar he was deprived of his curacy. We are informed that a protest meeting on his behalf is to be held in Brixton shortly, particulars of which may be obtained by writing to "Protest Committee," Warwick Lodge, Gresham Road, Brixton, or by calling there any evening before 8.15.

PRESS COMMENTS

"As a Deterrent"

The *Manchester Guardian*, in a leading article commenting on the Home Secretary's reply, points out that the fact remains that forcible feeding is being used as a deterrent, "not indeed against the commission of crimes but against evading the penalty for them"; and it goes on to say:—

"The forcible feeding is there just the same; it becomes virtually part of the punishment, and it is used to break down the will of the prisoner. To a certain extent it succeeds, but it succeeds only at the cost of inflicting extreme suffering, and in many cases life-long injury. Probably, indeed, it would not be too much to say that militancy in its present form is nourished and kept alive by the system which Mr. McKenna thinks it necessary to maintain for its suppression."

TO KEEP ON PESTERING

In the meantime, Nellie Hall, Mary Richardson, and others are suffering the tortures of the damned. We appeal to all men and women of goodwill to join with us in an indignant protest, and help to set on foot a campaign of worrying Ministers and Members of Parliament, by means of letters and interviews, until these latest infamies of Mr. McKenna and his officials have ceased.—*Daily Herald*.

NEW BOOKS

EXPERIENCE AND AUTHORITY

A Churchman on Mysticism

"The problem of the Creed," says Dr. Cobb, "may be stated as one form of the old problem how to reconcile life and form"; and this is the problem which in his book, "Mysticism and the Creed," he has set himself to solve. That the two are not mutually destructive, that there are no necessary contradictions between the consciousness of the mystic and the formulated dogma of the Creed, is his contention, a contention he maintains not only with learning and logic, but by means of the sympathetic insight which he brings to the consideration of mysticism. Yet the task which he so admirably carries out is one which, perhaps, in the present day, can hardly be finally accomplished; for the reason that the consciousness of the mystic, as Dr. Cobb insists, is an unchanging factor in the argument, mystics of all ages, of all religions being at one as to their experience, so that added data mean only additional confirmation; whereas the statements in the Creed, while retaining the same form, vary continually in regard to the interpretation put upon them. So that the difficulties of reconciling mysticism and authority, removed at one time, or for one division of the Church, do not preclude difficulties which may arise in another day, in connection with a different interpretation of the Creed's articles. The breadth of view which the author brings to his task, the catholicism of his attitude, make indeed for finality of exposition yet this very breadth, this very catholicism may stand as obstacles to the acceptance of his ideas by the orthodox minds of to-day. For, overstepping the limitations of any particular tradition, any particular school of thought or philosophical outlook, he seeks through all ages, all religions, all systems of philosophy for bases of truth on which to construct a reality of agreement between the individual experience of the mystic and the formal statements of the Creed. He accepts as the result of the wide sweep of his thought and knowledge much which, while finding its way into the advanced thought of the day, can hardly be considered to have entered the belief or teaching of the Church, and he is the prophet of to-morrow, the revealer of the fuller understanding that is to come, rather than the exponent of to-day. He accepts the theory of reincarnation, that ancient doctrine which has fallen out of the Church's teaching, and he maintains the truth of the mystic's conception, old as thought in the mind and devotion in the heart, that that portion of the Creed which tells the life-story of Jesus Christ tells less the story of a particular life than of a universal and therefore a typical one:—

The Crucifixion as a mere historical event would be of no more note than the myriad of crucifixions with which

* "Mysticism and the Creed." By W. F. Cobb, D.D., Rector of St. Ethelburga's, in the City of London. (Macmillan and Co. Price 10s. 6d. net.)

the cruelty of man has studded history, for to the mystic the Crucifixion recorded in the Creed is in its essence the inner crucifixion to which the Captain of our salvation submitted Himself, and to which each of His followers must also submit. Similarly the Resurrection to the mystic is not mere reanimation of a physical body from which life had before fled, but it is the resurrection of the soul out of the lower region of human living into the higher region where the human becomes the super-human. The Ascension, too, in its turn is to him not so much a physical happening—though he is not called to deny this—as the last act in the long drama of the birth, pilgrimage, and homecoming of the soul, which out of many tribulations has its life now hid with Christ in God. . . . Virgin-birth, Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension are not only moments in the life of one Individual, but are moments in His because they have a cosmic significance, and in some degree have been always part of the world-order.

It is impossible to give, by excerpts from sequential argument, a just idea of Dr. Cobb's position and the reasoning by which he arrives at it. The book should be read in its entirety, both by mystics and the antagonists of mysticism. G.

AN EXCELLENT JOURNAL

That excellent and enterprising monthly, the "Three Arts Journal," the organ of the Three Arts Club, has issued a specially good number for July, containing among other articles an amusing one on "How I Flew," by Constance Collier. Incidentally, it gives the details of two interesting competitions which are open to all readers of the "Journal." The best design for a book cover for a series of Classics of English literature is to be rewarded with a money prize of £6 6s., given by Messrs. Dent; while two feminine prizes, a blouse and a hat respectively, offered by Mme. Mauve and Mme. Barrie, are to be competed for by those entering for a "Names of Plays" competition, in which the alluring but excruciating task is set of filling in the gaps of a story, entitled "A Doleful Tragedy," with well-known names of plays.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Footprints Beneath the Snow." By Henry Bordeaux. London: G. Bell and Sons. Price 6s.
 "The Youngest World." By Robert Dunn. London: G. Bell and Sons. Price 6s.
 "Angel Island." By I. H. Gillmore. London: G. Bell and Sons. Price 6s.
 "Bridget Considine." By Mary Crosbie. London: G. Bell and Sons. Price 6s.
 "Shop Girls." By Arthur Applin. London: Mills and Boon. Price 6s.
 "The Royal Runaway and Jingale in Revolution." By Laurence Housman. London: Chapman and Hall. Price 6s.
 "Jean Gilles Schoolboy." By André Lafon. London: G. Bell and Sons. Price 3s. 6d. net.

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SUFFRAGISTS FROM OVERSEAS

New Suffrage Union Formed—Interview with Premier Demanded

At a Conference held in the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Thursday in last week, the new "Women's Suffrage Union, British Dominions Overseas," was inaugurated. Delegates attended from the four great self-governing Dominions, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada; and a business meeting in the morning was followed by a crowded meeting in the afternoon, at which three resolutions were proposed and carried unanimously. Representatives from most of the existing suffrage societies were present.

What Women Voters Have Done

Sir John Cockburn, who presided, spoke of the work done in Australia and New Zealand since women were enfranchised there, and alluded especially to the abolition of sweating, the legalisation of a system of fair wages, the limitation of gambling, the promotion of temperance reform, and other progressive measures, the passing of which was largely influenced by women's votes.

Miss Hodge, to whose initiative, aided by Miss Harriet Newcomb, the formation of the new Union is due, said she had been entrusted with a message of welcome from every one of the four Dominions, all of which she had visited lately in the suffrage interest. She spoke of the objects of the Overseas Union, that it existed to disseminate true news of the suffrage movement throughout the British Dominions, to bring our enfranchised sisters in touch with those who are still voteless, to circulate the suffrage papers, and to do everything possible to break down the ignorance and apathy which alone were responsible for any opposition she met with in her recent tour abroad.

Wishing It God Speed

Mr. Ensom, a New Zealander who twenty years ago helped Mr. Seddon to frame the measure for Old Age Pensions, moved the first resolution, welcoming the formation of the new Union and wishing it God speed.

Position in South Africa

This was seconded in a very able politi-

cal speech by Mrs. Wyberg, from South Africa, who gave a clear impression of the industrial and racial, as well as political, difficulties to be faced by suffragists in a country where the proportion of black people to white was as five to one, where the gravest industrial problems had still to be solved, and where the franchise laws differed in all four States, resting on a property and educational qualification in Cape Colony and Natal, but amounting to manhood suffrage in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. It was interesting, too, to hear that in the Transvaal women possessed the most municipal rights, and that it is hoped to extend these as freely to the women of the other three States.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence supported the resolution, and spoke of the suffrage movement as world-old as well as world-wide, and only accidentally a woman's movement. Women had formerly fought for their rights and sometimes won them, but the reason they had not kept them was that in older days the movement was not political. Now it was political, and nothing could now stop the acquisition of full citizenship for both sections of the human race.

Arraigning the Imperial Government

The resolution of welcome having been unanimously carried, Mrs. Montefiore moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mrs. Merivale Meyer (Australia), supported by Mrs. Cecil Chapman, and carried unanimously: "That this meeting, held under the auspices of the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union, arraigns the Imperial Government for its attitude towards the great constitutional agitation for Woman Suffrage, deprecates the coercion of the unconstitutional agitators instead of the redress of a just grievance, and urges the immediate introduction of a Government measure granting votes to women on equal terms with men."

In her speech Mrs. Montefiore described the Australian and New Zealand woman voter as a "political amphibian" who could vote in the placid waters of her own country but found herself on the dry and barren land of votelessness in Great Britain. She defined militancy as the giving of object lessons to the Government as they are sometimes given to backward

and deficient children; and ended with a vehement declaration that forcible feeding must cease.

Mrs. Cecil Chapman read a letter of sympathy from Mrs. Besant, and went on to say that from the first, with the unduly severe punishment given to women for assembling in Parliament Square, up to the "Cat and Mouse Act," there was no mistake that the Government could make that they had not made.

Nationality of British Wives

The third resolution was a strongly worded protest "against the treatment of women by the Secretary of State for the Colonies by his British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill," and calling upon Parliament to "accord to all British women the right to decide whether they shall retain or change or revert to their own nationality."

The resolution was proposed by Mrs. Leathes (Canada) and seconded by Mrs. Ransom (Australia), and in support of it Lady Aberconway made a vigorous and well-worded speech, saying it was a burning practical question. Mr. Harcourt urged that it would make for uniformity, but it would only be a uniformity for the convenience of lawyers and husbands.

The Bill, she said, continuing, was intended to be passed by the Parliaments of all the self-governing Dominions, as well as by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and she therefore appealed to the electors of the Dominions, more particularly those in which the women possessed political rights, to refuse to ratify it in its present form, and thus shatter Mr. Harcourt's scheme of uniformity in the matter of naturalisation. Under the Bill any British woman who married an alien became an alien herself automatically, thereby losing the protection of the Married Women's Property Act, and forfeiting all other rights as a British subject. If her husband died, she still remained an alien. Worse still, even if she married a British subject and her husband subsequently changed his nationality, his wife was by his act, with or without her consent, deprived of her British citizenship. She had asked Mr. Harcourt whether the position and wishes of women had been considered in these world-wide negotiations

between the different countries of the Empire concerning the Bill, and his answer was, "I can't say they have." Happily, the women voters in some of the Overseas Dominions had the power to frustrate this measure. If the women of one or two of the Overseas Dominions would get it rejected, this uniformity would be thwarted, and every Englishwoman had, she contended, the right to retain her nationality whoever she married. To take an extreme case, what would be the position of the English widow of a Turkish subject if the Bill became law? Would she have to submit to the law of the harem?

The resolution was carried unanimously and with enthusiasm.

THE ACTRESSES' ENTERTAINMENT

In the evening a reception was held to meet the President and officers of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, when a delightful entertainment was given under the direction of Miss Inez Bensusan by that indefatigable and generous body of professional women, the Actresses' Franchise League. It included a clever and extremely appropriate little dramatic sketch—"For Instance"—by Katharine Prichard, of which the scene was set in an Australian blouse factory, and it showed not only the better conditions of the working woman in a country where women are voters, but also the greater respect accorded to them by men.

OVERSEAS DEPUTATION TO THE PRIME MINISTER

An interesting result of the Overseas Conference was the instant action of the delegates from the four self-governing Dominions in seeking to obtain audience of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to lay before them the two resolutions passed unanimously by the Conference relating to the Woman Suffrage question in Great Britain and to the status of all married women under the new British Nationality Bill.

Up to the time of going to Press no answer had been received to their application.

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FRIDAY, JULY 17, 1914.

GRAVE PERIL TO MARRIED WOMEN

The world-wide Woman's Movement has entered upon a very significant development during the foregoing week. Day after day has seen the assembling together of delegates from every part of the Empire, in connection with the New Woman Suffrage Union of the British Dominions Overseas.

After the supreme issue of the political enfranchisement of the women of Britain, of Canada and South Africa, on terms that will give them equal status of citizenship with men, the political question that has stirred the most profound interest and feeling is the new Naturalisation Bill, which has been introduced by the Government in the House of Lords, and which has already passed its second reading in the Commons. This Bill is fathered by Mr. Harcourt, the anti-suffrage Colonial Secretary, and amongst other provisions it is designed to stereotype for the entire Empire the iniquitous system by which the rights of nationality and the protection which the British law affords to its subjects are automatically withdrawn from all women who marry foreigners, and also from all married women whose husbands may at any time after marriage for any reason choose to change their nationality and come under an alien system of law.

The gravity of this position was illustrated by Lady Aberconway on Thursday in last week in a masterly speech. She reminded her audience that there were settlements of British subjects in Turkey, China, Japan, and other Oriental countries. If an Englishman, say, in Constantinople, chooses for certain individual purposes to become a Turkish citizen, he will, if this Bill becomes law, be able forthwith to seclude his British wife in a harem and marry another wife, or he will be able to divorce her by the simple process of saying three times "I divorce thee."

Similarly, in such a case, the property of the wife will cease to be protected by British law. In fact, in order to obtain possession of his wife's property it will be open to any man after marriage to adopt the nationality of some country where the property of married women is not protected. The wife could, in such an event, claim no legal redress whatever.

To say that such cases are not likely to occur frequently is no defence of so monstrous a situation. Laws have to be made not to restrain the average human being from wrongdoing, but to restrain the most evil, the most cruel, and the most callous from working iniquity. The theory of the law is that it is not made to protect the strong, the happy, and the befriended, but to protect the weak, the miserable, and the friendless.

If we were to ask: What reason other than a moral

one is there to restrain any man who wants to seclude or divorce his wife, or to gain possession of her property, from acting in this way? we should probably be told that it is a very serious matter for a man to lose his status as a British subject and the prestige and protection afforded by it. Such an answer illustrates the depth of the injury that is being done to women under the provisions of this Bill, which stereotypes and universalises a system that grew up under the now obsolete idea of coverture—i.e., the non-existence (legally) of the married woman.

A woman has precisely the same need of the protection of her country's laws as a man. A notable instance of this fact was afforded recently in the memorable case of Miss Malecka. Nothing but the establishment of the fact of her British nationality saved this lady from the horrors of a penal sentence in Siberia, worse than death itself. Such protection it is proposed to withhold by Act of Parliament from every woman within our world-wide Empire, who, influenced by a personal passion or affection, is led to contract the bond of marriage with a foreigner, or with a man who after marriage elects, it may be for personal or commercial reasons, to abrogate his nationality. Even as a widow she rests under the ban of exclusion. Could any great wrong perpetuated deliberately on a national and imperial scale afford a more glaring illustration of the stigma and the slight which is placed upon an entire sex as one of the results of its exclusion from citizenship? Could anything in this world stir more deeply the passionate resentment of the women who have suffered and sacrificed as much, if not more than men in laying the foundations of the Empire and building up its farthest boundaries in the King's Dominions overseas?

No act, however dishonourable, no crime, however revolting, no circumstance, no condition can ever debar a British born man from citizenship. If it were ever to be suggested that a man would be deprived of his nationality by reason of his marriage with a foreigner he would laugh at the monstrosity of the proposition. Only by his own will and deed can he renounce that status, and even then by his own will and deed he can revert to it. We claim precisely that position for the women of the British Dominions. They claim it themselves. Unanimously and with deep feeling was the resolution passed last Thursday at the Congress of women delegates from every part of the Empire—the resolution that affirmed the right of women to retain, to change, or to revert to their nationality at their own will.

Women utterly and indignantly refuse, in these days of their awakening and uprising, to be handed over to the lawyers as so much inert matter, to be dealt with as property is dealt with, with the mere purpose of simplifying and unifying a legal code. The law of coverture is dead. Our lawyers and legislators are enamoured of the corpse. They cling to it and refuse to recognise the existence of the living personality active in feeling, thought and will, who has come to take the place of the slave wife of the past.

Let the British Parliament realise in time the fact that is known by all the live people in the world to-day, that a woman is as fully human as a man, in all conditions of personal and public life; as keen in her affections and enthusiasm; as conscious of pride in her country; as moved by its traditions; as sensitive to its honour; as true to its ideals; as eager for its welfare—yes, and as passionately resentful of injustice and as determined to win her due political and national rights.

The retention of these provisions, offering, as they do, the deepest possible insult and inflicting the grossest wrong upon the entire womanhood of the Empire, would be a gross blunder and an irreparable disaster, and would serve to stir up fierce resentment on the part of women in every corner of the King's Dominions. This thing has been sprung upon women. It has been secretly negotiated, as Lady Aberconway revealed, between men in the various Dominions during the past ten years. Women must organise quickly and act quickly, or they will find this yoke of inferiority and this burden of contempt fastened and riveted upon them by bonds that it will take years of agitation to break. There is not a day to be lost. But while they are doing this let them heed the wider lesson that such an intolerable situation incidentally illustrates, namely, that a voteless section of the community lives in perpetual peril from secret and sudden attack upon its rights, its liberties, and its honour.

FREEDOM OF CONTRACT FOR MARRIED WOMEN

By Eva Gore-Booth

In the recent Report of the Civil Service Commission it will be remembered that one of the reasons repeatedly given by some of the Commissioners to justify the inequality of payment between men and women was the retirement of women on marriage. The Commissioners admitted that this hard and fast rule was to the disadvantage of the Service in many ways, but they explained that the Service was willing to suffer for the advantage of the homes of the nation, which would be greatly profited if the women could be forced back into them. They then proceeded to explain how the department could be compensated for all inconvenience by the resulting economy, and how every bit of loss and disadvantage could be shovelled on to the shoulders of the women themselves in the shape of low wages. So that in the end nobody need be any the worse for this sacrifice on the altar of the home, except the women themselves.

Forcing Other People to Sacrifice

Now, to sacrifice your own interests to a principle is all very well, but to force, by an arbitrary regulation, other people to sacrifice their interests to your principles is a very different matter—especially if the people concerned do not even share your principles. Of course, it has been done from time immemorial. When Agamemnon thought the gods were angry with the Greek hosts, he did not do penance himself, but went and sacrificed his innocent daughter, and quite believed he fulfilled his own obligations to heaven by having Iphigenia's throat cut before the altar. Or you might take the more modern story of the Boy Scout who woke up in the night, thinking, remorsefully, that he had forgotten to do his daily kind action. So he got out of bed and gave his pet mouse to the cat!

One of the great temptations involved in the possession of political power is to be true to your own theories at the expense of other people's interests, wills, and opinions. Of course, this is the root of all tyranny. When we say (as some people do, I believe, even now) that England is a free country, we mean that this tendency has been to a certain extent, checked. We no longer sacrifice holocausts of human victims to the private religious convictions of our rulers. The lives and liberties of Catholics, Nonconformists, Jews, Turks, heretics, and infidels, as such, are quite safe under the rule of a Church of England king. The slow process of Representative Government, helpful even in its present partial form, together with the rapid progress of individual evolution in the last few hundred years, has gradually and almost silently extinguished some of the grosser forms of persecution. We no longer dare, most of us no longer wish, to burn people's bodies to save their souls.

In England we do not even force men by conscription to lose or take life in quarrels not of their own making. But the tendency still exists, in an attenuated form, principally in the attitude of the State towards women. The air is full of wild and wandering theories of what women should do, or a great deal more often what they should not do; and to any one of these theories there is always a set of people who are willing and anxious to sacrifice the industrial and personal interests of any section whatever of these helpless and unrepresented workers.

About fifty years ago the employment of large bodies of women in agriculture was sacrificed (in spite of all evidence) to the town-bred theories of politicians on the subject of health and morals. Then a certain section of politicians "did not like to see women in bars," and a measure was cheerfully brought forward to deprive 100,000 women of their livelihoods. Another set could not bear to see women doing dangerous work, and the acrobats had to fight for their industrial existence. Attacks have been made on one trade after another in the interests of sentiment. But the most insidious, dangerous, and wide-reaching of all these attacks is the present one on the work of married women. If successful, it is bound to have one of two results. It must either undermine the hard-won economic independence and

the education of women, or it will undermine the institution of legal marriage.

Married Women an Asset to a Trade

Industrially, from the workers' point of view, the presence of married women is a great asset in a trade, just as it is an industrial advantage to a working man to have his wife working. The married woman whose husband is at work can afford to fight for better wages and conditions. If the miner's wife is working in a cotton mill the miners' strike will not break down because "the women and children are starving." Women will never get good conditions, high wages, or promotion if they are content to be mere casual labourers putting in time, always looking for "a door of escape," the expression used by the Civil Service Commission with unconscious humour, in speaking of the marriage of their women employees. The serious qualities of stability and experience, which qualities add perhaps more largely to the labourer's value than any other, will be to a great extent lost to women's labour. The constant exit of good workers and the entrance of young girls is the worst thing that can happen to any industry. Practical parents will not spend money in educating and training their girls for a few years' work; rather, they will tend to put them into any wretched and unskilled occupation that will bring them in a few shillings at the moment, and chance their getting out of it at marriage. I have already met men, whose daughters wanted to be teachers, who argued in this way.

Theoretic Idea of Home

The authorities decide, in their wisdom, that women's individual development, education, careers, and independence should be sacrificed to the theoretic idea of the home. The Government then relentlessly forces this sacrifice down the throat of helpless and unenfranchised workers. A great many education authorities follow the example of the Civil Service. The authorities are content; they sacrifice to the home ideal, and they employ cheap labour, thus killing two birds with one stone. Especially in the case of the teachers it must be remembered, another person is injured, the woman whom the teacher would have hired to help in her housework, if she had been earning enough money to pay for such help.

Why should a skilled teacher be turned into an unskilled house-worker, and a skilled house-worker lose her work, all to propitiate the wicked old Juggernaut of a theory that "women's place is the home"? This is a theory that has been responsible for heaven knows how many millions of stunted lives, starved abilities, arrested developments, wasted energies, and all the suffering and misery and bitterness and distortion of character that is the sure result of an attempt to hold back artificially the natural evolution of human activity.

The Indisputable Right

As to the danger of undermining the institution of legal marriage, it must be remembered that as soon as the State decrees that directly a woman worker marries she loses her individual freedom and her right to arrange her own life according to her individual needs, it puts a premium on every avoidance of the marriage bond. We have all read how Florence Nightingale refused an otherwise very congenial marriage on the grounds that it would involve the interruption of her work by uncongenial social and domestic claims. Women are no longer content with the four walls of the home; they have waked up once and for all to wider activities, to the joy of the free air and the open road, the delights of comradeship and the exhilaration of effort and achievement. They claim the surely indisputable right of every human being to adjust, as best they can in their individual lives, the various claims of family, industrial, and social life, that must beset every grown-up individual. Is it wise or politic to force those among them who wish to marry to choose one of three sacrifices, to say to them—"You must either give up your work, your interest, your ambition and marry, or you must give up marriage and enter into an unlegalised and irregular union, and keep your work; or else, to keep your work and your life's interest, you must sacrifice the idea of marriage and remain single all your life"?

This is the choice that the State is at present putting before its women workers, at the same time that it makes its own tyranny an excuse for underpaying them. And there are people still left who wonder why we want the suffrage!

"ARTHUR OF BRITAIN"*

"Arthur of Britain" is a drama in four parts intended to be set to music and to form a complete music drama of the Arthurian legend. Each part deals with one side of the story, and they are: (1) The Birth of Arthur; (2) the Round-Table; (3) the Holy Grail; (4) the Death of Arthur.

In 1907, on Mr. Granville Bantock's suggestion, the MS. of the first part was sent to Mr. Rutland Boughton, and he has now composed the music for the whole drama. From the author's literary device of preludes and poetic commentary Mr. Boughton has evolved the idea of Choral Drama, a term that now passes current to denote music drama that differs from the "operatic method."

The words of the drama sing very well, and the music dramatises the words. The author has gone to the original sources for the material of the national legend, but he has given the dramas a modern application, which is what any artist who is a live artist must do. Mark Rutherford, in one of his most pregnant sayings, emphasises the fact that the Christ is never incarnated twice in one flesh, but that each generation puts its own interpretation and draws its own life from its own presentment of the truth. And so it is with the legends which live deep in the heart of the race. Each generation can make them living only as it interprets them in its own language. To-day there is a special interest in legend and folk story. Everywhere the people are dancing the old folk-dances and singing folk-songs with, whenever they are so encouraged, their own interpretation, and so this folk drama of national legend translated into modern thought and spirit comes very naturally from the heart and brain of a modern youth.

The text is printed in two types, the italics being commentary and narrative, and the Roman being dramatic. The result is most happy, and makes the

* "Arthur of Britain." By Reginald R. Buckley. (London: Williams and Norgate. Price 5s. net.)

unfolding of the story and its inherent meaning much more easy to understand. Especially interesting to readers to-day is the portrayal of the three types of women whose influence is deeply felt in the life of Britain's King:—Igraine the Madonna, Guenever the wife, and Morgan le Fay the witch, all clearly drawn and fulfilling their destiny.

The cradle and the permanent home of this and other national dramas is to be at Glastonbury, the land of legend and of dream, in a Festival Theatre especially built for the requirements of music drama. If, as it is expected, the foundation-stone is laid this summer, it will not be long before the dream of the author is fulfilled, that England shall have a National Festival Theatre, where—

"Some day the bounds 'twixt Seen and Unseen sever,
And we shall know what life in fulness means."

And—

"If Galahad win his way
To the Castle of the Holy Grail,
He may learn from the Grail King there
The way of a world more fair,
More free than the world of men."

M. N.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(Up to July 11th, 1914)

[illegible]

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Criminal Neglect

The *Bath Herald* and *Bath and Wilts Chronicle* (July 7) report case of a gardener summoned at the Bath City Police Court before Messrs. T. H. D. May and W. Pitt for gross neglect of his son, aged eight, and his daughter, aged twelve. Both were filthy and verminous; the girl, in addition, was in terrible pain from an abscess. A witness who had examined her said there was evidence of assault. Defendant had been previously convicted for criminal assault on his daughter and neglect of his children.

Sentence:—Two months' hard labour for neglect of son, and six months' hard labour, the maximum sentence, for neglect of daughter, the two sentences to run consecutively.

Assault Upon Wife

The *Daily Citizen* (July 8) reports case of a general dealer, charged at the S.W. Police Court before Mr. Lister Drummond with violently assaulting his wife by throwing his entire dinner at her. She was badly cut in the face and arms, and, according to police evidence, was smothered in blood from head to foot.

Sentence:—Two months' hard labour.

Drunk While Driving a Motor

The *Evening Standard* (July 6) reports case of a taxicab driver, charged at Bow Street with being drunk during his employment. He overturned a watchman's box on to the watchman, whose face was cut.

Sentence:—One month in the second division.

THE MAXIMUM SENTENCE

The first two cases in the above table of punishments illustrate with great force the need for the re-adjustment of the scale of sentences now in use in this country. Both are cases in which the utmost penalty was imposed, in the one case for gross neglect amounting to physical cruelty (the graver charge was not brought, so must not be taken into consideration, though it was mentioned in the summing up) to a little girl; in the other for the meanest form of theft, that of obtaining money by false pretences from the poor. Yet the highest sentence the law can impose in the case of the injury to the person is apparently six months; while in the case of the injury to possessions, it is two years.

DEMAND FOR PENAL SENTENCE

Our demand for the readjustment of the penal code so that the worst crimes shall be met with the heaviest punishments is voiced by a correspondent of a provincial *Herald* in a letter sent to us in an unmarked newspaper cutting.

[We take this opportunity to beg our readers, who render us the very valuable service of bringing such cases to our notice, always to mark their cuttings with the name and date of the newspaper from which they are taken.]

He states that he is the father of a little girl aged 9½ years who had been the victim of an indecent assault at Weston Pevel by a lad of 15½. There was corroborative evidence, and the lad pleaded guilty. He was bound over for six months and cautioned by the magistrates at the Juvenile Court at Crownhill.

The father of the poor little victim, signing himself "Justice," writes to the local paper to call this "a miscarriage of justice." He adds: "The case was carried out in an indifferent manner, it would seem. At least, that is my impression. Is it not time drastic measures were taken to stamp out such fearful crime and not to allow it to increase, as it would appear it is doing with such slight sentences?"

As we have constantly said, it is not so much the slight sentences given to these assailants of children that encourage them to repeat their offences, but the disproportion of such sentences in comparison with those given for theft or other crimes against property. A lad would certainly not escape being sent to a reformatory for wilful theft merely by pleading that he was below the age of sixteen.

"UNDER GREAT PROVOCATION"

It will be remembered that the Home Secretary has refused to intervene on behalf of Julia Decies, now undergoing a sentence of seven years' penal servitude for wounding the man who lived with her, under circumstances which caused the jury to recommend her to mercy. At the Crown Court, Manchester, on July 8 (see *Manchester Guardian*, July 9), before Mr. Justice Shearman, a hawker was found guilty by the jury, "under great provocation," of killing another man with a knife in a drinking quarrel. He was sentenced to twelve months' hard labour. The judge, adds the report in the *Guardian*, "said he entirely agreed with the verdict of the

HEAVY SENTENCES

Money by False Pretences

The *Times* (July 10) reports case of a machinist, charged at the London Sessions with obtaining various sums by false pretences, ranging from 2s. 3d. to £1, many of them from poor people, and lasting over a period of six months. He was given the maximum sentence.

Sentence:—Two years' imprisonment.

Burglary

The *Daily Telegraph* (July 1) reports case of a labourer charged at East Sussex Quarter Sessions with committing a burglary at Handcross. In the evidence it was stated that he drew a knife and threatened both the prosecutor and policeman. There were previous convictions.

Sentence:—Four years' penal servitude.

Housebreaking

The *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star* (July 9) reports case of a labourer charged with breaking into a dwelling-house with intent to steal. There was a previous conviction.

Sentence:—Fifteen months' hard labour.

jury and with their view that he had received great provocation. At the same time, he had to bear in mind that the prisoner had used a knife and killed a man, under which circumstances men were often sent for long terms into penal servitude."

For less than that, we would remind our readers, was a woman sent to seven years' penal servitude, and for a crime committed under circumstances of far greater provocation. What provocation could a man have suffered at the hands of another man after a drinking bout that could be compared with the wrong done to a woman who, at the time of her arrest, was about to become a mother, was infected with a loathsome disease, and had been informed by the man she wounded that he was about to go away with another woman?

REMAINED IN CUSTODY

We commented last week on the outrageous injustice of sentencing militant Suffragists, who had been refused bail and been forcibly fed for a whole month or more while in custody, to a further term of imprisonment without making allowance for the period they had already spent in prison. Two cases at Sheffield Quarter Sessions last week show that this is by no means the usual practice. According to the *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star* (July 9), a labourer, indicted for maliciously wounding a woman with a poker, was stated to have been in custody since May 12, and the Recorder (Mr. John Scott Fox, K.C.), "considering that adequate punishment for the offence, bound him over for the next three months to come up for judgment if called upon."

In the second case, that of a canvasser who had assaulted his landlady and her son because they remonstrated with him for assaulting his wife (for which there was no charge, by the way), had been in custody two months, and the Recorder, "considering all the circumstances, thought that sufficient, and imposed the nominal sentence of one day's imprisonment."

"If 'circumstances' can be 'considered,' and custody while awaiting trial can be taken into account in passing sentence upon men who strike and wound women, why cannot the same course be pursued with regard to women whose worst offences are those in connection with damage to property, and not always even direct connection?"

Can it be wondered at that the women's answer to this question is: "Because women have no votes and no status in the eyes of the law?"

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF "UNPARDONABLE"?

We are glad to note that attention was drawn in the House of Commons last week to the lightness of a penalty imposed upon a defendant for driving a motor-car to the public danger. For some time past we have pointed out in these columns the lightness of such sentences as compared with those given for offences against property, and it is further satisfactory to find the following editorial note in the *Daily News* (July 8), under the heading "Unpardonable": "The Bow Street magistrate yesterday, having before him the case of a chauffeur found drunk in charge of his car, observed very justly, 'This ought to be considered an unpardonable offence.' He fined the chauffeur 40s. It is the lightest penalty for an unpardonable offence that has ever probably been inflicted."

We agree entirely with the spirit of this rebuke. But if the writer of it had followed proceedings in the Courts as we have for the last year or so, we think he would not have written the last sentence of it.

IN OTHER LANDS

DENMARK

Hopeful Prospect

In politics nothing is certain; but the women's prospects of success in Denmark certainly look bright. The confirmatory elections to the Landsting, or Upper House, on July 10 resulted in the return of a Radical majority in favour of the Government Reform Bill, which includes the granting to women of the vote on equal terms with men. There are now thirty-eight members of the Upper House in favour of the Bill, and twenty-eight opponents of it.

The correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* states that a special meeting of the Riksdag, or Danish Parliament, will take place on July 20, and if, as seems certain, the Reform Bill is carried by both Houses, Parliament will at once be dissolved and re-elected, as any amendment of the Constitution must be passed through two successive Parliaments before becoming law. If all goes well and the Bill is then passed a second time, there will be a second dissolution, and a General Election will follow on the basis of the new constitution, women voting for the first time.

NEW SOUTH WALES

Women M.P.'s

In opening the New South Wales Parliament on July 7, the Governor's speech foreshadowed several reforms, including one for the removal of the sex disability for representative institutions. If this reform becomes law it will render women in New South Wales eligible for election to Parliament.

UNITED STATES

President's Statement

An influential deputation of representative women waited on President Wilson at the White House on June 30 to urge him to use his influence to secure the passage through Congress, this session, of the Woman Suffrage Bill now before it, known as the Bristow-Mondell amendment to the constitution.

The President in his reply adhered to his former opinion that, as leader of the

Democratic Party, he could not back a reform that had not been adopted officially in the Party programme, though, as Suffragists point out, this did not prevent his backing the Panama Tolls Bill.

He said further that as an individual he considered the Suffrage question one to be settled, not by a Federal amendment, but by each State for itself. Again, as the Suffragists point out, it is difficult to see why the women of the United States should not be enfranchised by means of a Federal amendment when this was the method by which the negroes obtained their votes.

Thus, in the States as in Great Britain, the Party that is blocking the way to women's freedom is the Party in power.

HOPE FOR NEBRASKA

In Nebraska, where the Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution goes to the Referendum of the electors next November, it appears from a Lincoln newspaper that the Anti-Suffragists are not likely to put up much of a fight there, at all events not in Lincoln itself. The paper, in a report of an Anti-Suffrage meeting, says:—

"Counting the two speakers and the chairman, there were fifteen women and fourteen men present. Half of the audience was composed of Suffragists, and the chairman himself was a pronounced Suffragist. 'My sympathies,' he said, 'are all on the other side. I am presiding simply because I could not find another man in Lincoln who would.' The paper comments that 'no effort was made to organise an Anti-Suffrage Association in Lincoln following the mass meeting held last night.'"

EVEN URUGUAY!

The official journal *Die* announces that a Bill was to be introduced last Tuesday in the Chamber at Montevideo giving women equal political rights with men "on condition that they are not subject to any disability provided in the Constitution."

This last proviso looks perilously like chivalry. Or is it only the dear old objection, familiar to us all, that women are too emotional to sit on juries?

In any case, it will be intolerable if Mr. Asquith allows Great Britain to be beaten by Uruguay!

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THE REVOLUTIONARIES

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed to Suffragists in the Press during the week:—

Saturday, July 11.—Explosion in a mail-bag in a train passing through Salwick, on the way from Bolton to Manchester.

Sunday, July 12.—Buildings on the down platform at Blaby Station, near Leicester, destroyed by fire. Damage estimated at £500. Suffragist literature found.

Bomb found in the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster. One arrest made.

Monday, July 13.—Bomb explosion in Roslin Chapel, Mid-Lothian.

Tuesday, July 14.—Attempt to burn Coken Hall, near Chester-le-Street, Durham. Suffragist literature found.

IN THE COURTS

Monday, July 13.—At Westminster Police Court, before Mr. Francis, charged with maliciously placing a bomb in the church of St. John the Evangelist, Miss Annie Bell. Remanded for one week.

At Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Graham Campbell, charged with causing an obstruction, Miss Ann Smith, Miss Eunice Smith, Miss Emma Smyth, Miss Lillian Smyth, and Miss Louise Smyth. Remanded on bail until Tuesday. On Tuesday again remanded until Thursday.

DEFERRED SENTENCES

The Suffragist Conspirators

When sentence was pronounced by Mr. Justice Avory at the Central Criminal Court on Wednesday in last week, in the W.S.P.U. Conspiracy Trial, which was proceeding when we went to Press, Miss Grace Roe and Miss Nellie Hall were each sentenced to three months' imprisonment. Mrs. Armes and Miss Jameson were found not guilty and discharged.

The "Suffragette" Publisher

When Mr. Sidney Granville Drew was brought up for sentence on Wednesday in last week, Mr. Justice Avory said that but for the fact that the defendant had in 1913 given an undertaking not to print any incitement to the commission of crime he should have taken a lenient view of the case. He sentenced him to two months in the second division.

The *Daily Herald*, in a leading article demanding that the conviction of Mr. Drew be quashed, says:—

"Every legal action against the Suffragists and their printers and publishers is providing a valuable precedent for the governing class to be used against Labour in the forthcoming industrial struggle. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

ANOTHER "ROBBER AND PILLER"

A summons was issued against Miss Barbara Wylie, the Suffragist speaker, to appear at the Marylebone Police Court last Wednesday, on a charge of being guilty of conduct and language calculated to incite and provoke a breach of the peace.

NEWS OF PRISONERS

Mrs. Pankhurst Released

Mrs. Pankhurst, who was re-arrested on Wednesday in last week as we went to press, was released on Saturday on a four days' licence only, under the Cat and Mouse Act. She had been on a hunger and thirst strike all the time. It is announced that she will speak at a mass meeting to be held by the W.S.P.U. in the Holland Park Skating Rink on Thursday in this week.

Other Prisoners

Mrs. Dacre Fox, who was re-arrested outside Westminster Abbey last Sunday week, was released last Friday after a hunger and thirst strike.

Miss Margaret Haly, the Birmingham Suffragist under sentence of two months for window breaking, was released last week for the second time under the Cat and Mouse Act, after a hunger and thirst strike.

Miss Annie Wheeler who on May 23 was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for damaging a glass case in the British Museum, and has been forcibly fed after a hunger and thirst strike in Holloway Gaol, was released under the Cat and Mouse Act last Saturday with only a few days of her sentence to serve.

Forcibly Fed

It is believed that the following are still being forcibly fed:—Miss Gertrude Ansell, Miss Ivy Bonn, Miss Hilda Burdett, Miss Eileen Casey, Miss Nellie Hall, Miss Georgina Lloyd, Miss Phyllis North, Miss Rachel Peace, Miss Mary Richardson, Miss Grace Roe, Miss Arabella Scott, Miss Florence Tunks.

All these are in Holloway Gaol except Miss Lloyd and Miss North, who are at Carnarvon, and Miss Arabella Scott, who is at Perth.

ATTACK ON THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND

As Mr. McKinnon Wood, Secretary of State for Scotland, was leaving his residence, 16, Portland Place, last Wednesday morning, two women Suffragists attacked him with a whip, striking him across the arms.

Both were arrested and taken to Portland Road Police Station. Later in the day they were charged and sentenced to fourteen days in default of paying a fine of 40s.

MILITANTS AND THE CHURCH

At Friday's session of the Representative Church Council's meeting at Westminster three militant Suffragists interrupted the proceedings with a protest against forcible feeding. The Archbishop of Canterbury peremptorily ordered two men, who put their hands over the women's mouths, to desist at once and to allow the women to remain if they wished to. The women, however, elected to walk out as soon as they had had their say.

Another woman, who addressed the Archbishop for some moments on the same subject, was finally conducted out of the building by a commissioner.

At a Garden Party

At a garden party at Fulham Palace last Saturday, a woman who persistently spoke to the Bishop of London on the subject of forcible feeding, and another woman who attempted to hold a meeting, were both ejected. It is reported that they were roughly handled, one of them, it is said, coming away with her face streaming with blood.

Both in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral last Sunday morning Suffragists sang their chant of supplication, and at the Abbey two women protested aloud against forcible feeding, both before and after the sermon. All were ejected.

RUSSIAN METHODS

Remarkable Police Intrusion

An extraordinary instance of Russian police methods was afforded last Saturday afternoon by a domiciliary visit of police officers to the house of Miss Nannie Brown, the Edinburgh Hon. Sec. of the Northern Men's Federation. She has addressed a letter to the Chief Constable at Edinburgh, in which she says:—

"While a meeting of the executive of the above Constitutional Society was being held at my house here on Saturday afternoon a most unwarrantable act was perpetrated by two men describing themselves as police officers, who forced an entry into the room where my guests were assembled, and demanded the names and addresses of those who were present."

"This was, I understood, because one or two enthusiasts in the cause of Women's Suffrage had called out 'Votes for women!' as the Royal carriage passed. I asked the men for what purpose they had forced an entrance, and if they had a warrant, and on their failing to produce one I immediately ordered them out of my house, and I am now writing to ask you by whose authority my privacy was intruded upon and this illegal act perpetrated. I wish to ask under which section of the Edinburgh Municipal and Police Act, 1879, or of any other Act, authority was given so to invade a private house."

Miss Brown concludes by stating her intention of bringing the matter before Parliament, "as the precedent is too dangerous a one to be allowed to pass." We comment in our Outlook on this shameful occurrence.

COST OF MILITANCY

The *Morning Post*, in an elaborate series of tables occupying more than two columns, gave its readers last Tuesday some estimate of the total cost of the destruction to property attributed to militant Suffragists during the last 24 years.

The window-breaking of March, 1912, amounted to £5,000, it states. In 1913, from February, when the arson campaign was instituted, until the end of the year, the amount of damage done is estimated at £271,000. In the first six months of the present year it is set down at £113,000, making the total cost, according to the *Morning Post* estimate, of the destruction of property attributed to Suffragists since March, 1912, a sum of £389,000.

"MEN ARE MEN . . ."

Commenting on Lady Carlisle's recent gift of £300 to Mr. Redmond for the arming of the Nationalist Volunteers, the *Irish Citizen* says:—

"What is the innate difference between men and women that men may and should fight for their political liberty and get little cheques of £300 for doing so, but women, no matter how sunk in slavery and its consequent degradation, must never rebel? And is Lady Carlisle going to be arrested for this gross and overt incitement to violence?"

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We understand that this paper will bring a larger number of inquiries than any other we are using. If it does, we shall advertise in it regularly.

THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—From certain comments in the Press we gather that an impression is abroad that as a Society the United Suffragists are definitely "anti" militancy of an extreme kind.

Will you extend to us the courtesy of your space to correct this impression?

Some of our members probably disapprove of extreme militancy, either on moral grounds or because they consider it ineffective; others probably approve of it because they think it both right and expedient. But we wish to emphasise the fact that as a Society we are "anti" two things only—any Government that refuses or neglects to pass a measure for the enfranchisement of women, and Intolerance.

For the rest, we have far too much respect for the individual conscience to disapprove, and too much experience of politicians to dogmatize about the methods adopted by any other Society, or any individual, for the purpose of obtaining that for which all Suffragists are fighting. We should consider such disapproval both impertinent and disloyal to the Cause. We feel that at the present stage of the agitation there is better work for all Suffragists to do.

The work that we have undertaken is that which we believe to be most suitable for a Society, framed, both as to its executive and membership, to include men and women on absolutely equal terms—namely, to bring pressure to bear on the Government through the electorate; but we reserve to ourselves the right to employ the methods that seem to us suitable for the furtherance of that end. At the same time, we do not believe in overlapping, and we shall endeavour to conduct our campaign without encroaching on the sphere of activity that any other Society has made peculiarly its own.

We state in our manifesto that we believe that "various forms of Suffrage activity are of value" but it does not follow that we deem it advisable ourselves to employ all those forms of activity at this or any other time. Our object is to unite together in one organization men and women of goodwill who are anxious to work for the Cause of "Votes for women" according to their own conscience, temperament, and circumstance, without criticising the methods of others who may differ from them in any of those respects.—Yours, &c., on behalf of the Committee,

BARBARA AYLTON-GOULD (Hon. Sec.),
H. J. GILLMAN (Hon. Treasurer).

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ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
President: Lady Forbes-Robertson

The Stall at the White City is doing very excellent propaganda work, and gaining many adherents to our cause. The following members among others will be at the Stall during the week: Monday, Miss Inez Bensusan; Tuesday, Miss Decima Moore; Wednesday, Miss Edyth Olive and Mrs. Madeleine Lucette Ryley; Friday, Miss Mabel Mannering; Saturday, Miss Janette Steer.

On Friday, July 10, the A.F.L. gave an entertainment at the Westminster Palace Hotel to the delegates to the Conference of the Woman Suffrage Alliance, British Dominions Overseas. A new one-act play was presented, written for the occasion by Miss Prichard, and performed by Miss Inez Bensusan, Miss Lydia Sydney, Mr. William Stack, and Mr. Lancelot Lowder. A scene from Olive Schreiner's "Story of an African Farm" was also given by Miss Bensusan and Mr. Stack. Miss Muriel Matters recited, Miss Dorothy Varick gave an entertainment at the piano, and Miss Ruby Helder and Miss Floriel Florian sang.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

3, Adam Street, Strand, London, W.C.

Telephone: Regent 5150

Colours: Purple, White and Orange
Committee

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Mr. A. W. Evans
Mr. Gerald Gould
Mr. Henry W. Nevinston
Mrs. Agnes Harben
Mrs. Pethick Lawrence
Miss Evelyn Sharp
Mrs. Elaine Whelan
Mr. John Sourr
Mr. H. J. Gillespie, Hon. Treasurer
Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Hon. Secretary
Mr. Charles Gray, Secretary

Join US (United Suffragists)

New Members.—We extend a hearty welcome to the very large number of new members who have joined us during the week.

Transfer of "Votes for Women."—All our members know by this time of the important offer made to us by the Editors, and gladly accepted by our Committee, of the paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, which will become the official organ of the United Suffragists on and after August 21. We therefore impress upon all our supporters the pleasant duty imposed upon them of circulating the paper as widely as possible.

Members' Meetings.—Held every Thursday evening in the offices, 3, Adam Street, at 8.15 p.m. They will cease after July 23 until the autumn. **Speakers:** July 16, Mr. Charles Gray (on the new Edinburgh branch) and others. July 23, Mrs. Ayrton Gould and others.

Speakers' Class.—Every Tuesday, same address, 8.15 p.m. Conducted by Miss Winifred Mayo. Fees: Members, 2s. 6d. for ten lessons; non-members, 8s. 6d. Single lessons, 6d.

Last class until the autumn, July 28.

Amersham Branch.—(Hon. Sec., Mrs. Drinkwater, Fieldtop, Amersham.) Meeting to-day (Friday) at Chesham, 7.30 p.m. Chair, Mrs. Drinkwater; speaker, the Rev. J. M. Maillard.

Edinburgh Branch.—(Hon. Sec., Edinburgh U.S., 50A, Frederick Street, Edinburgh.) A most successful inaugural members' meeting was held on July 14. The Shop will be opened and campaign started in October.

Stroud Branch.—(Hon. Sec., Miss Edelmann, Whiteway, Stroud.) A very successful meeting was held last Friday at the Stroud Trades Council, at which the speaker was Mr. H. W. Nevinston.

South London Election Campaign.—Open-air meetings at 8.15 p.m.:—July 20, corner of Heygate Street and Walworth Road; Miss Hickey, Miss Somers.

July 21, corner of Friar Street and Southwark Bridge Road; Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Miss Dransfield.

July 23, corner of Liverpool Street and Walworth Road; Miss Gibbs, Mr. Mackinlay, Mr. C. Stephenson Squires.

COMING EVENTS

"Votes for Women" Fellowship
Lancashire Centre

Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate, Ainsdale, Lancashire.

There will be a meeting on Saturday, July 18, at the entrance to Wavertree Playground, Southdown Road, Liverpool, at 8 p.m. There will be a meeting on Saturday, July 25, on the sands, Waterloo, at 8 p.m. Speaker, Miss Patricia Woodcock.

Other Meetings

A garden party, in aid of the funds of the International Suffrage Shop, will be held on Saturday, July 25, from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m., at 1, Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead. A performance will be given by the Actresses' Franchise League, and among the artists will be Miss Decima Moore and Erik Tschakowski. Tickets: Reserved, 5s.; unreserved, 2s. 6d., inclusive.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

We had a splendid sale of papers last week, but we still require a great many more sellers, as there are still several pitches vacant. Mrs. Masters would be very glad of more helpers for the Oxford Street pitch.

There are so many foreign visitors at present in London that now is just the time to push forward the paper.

"NO RENT" STRIKE

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst took part in a Suffrage procession at Bow last Sunday evening, and afterwards spoke in the Canning Town Public Hall. She was received with immense enthusiasm, and called for names of those willing to take part in a "No rent" strike. A large number of volunteers came forward.

COSTING US MORE

A Norwich speaker at the Museums Association Conference, held at Swansea last week, said: "Thanks to the Norwich Watch Committee's special precautions both day and night, the hundred and fifty thousand visitors to the Norwich Castle Museum, including her Majesty the Queen and members of the Royal Family, were carefully followed through the buildings."

When will the country discover that everything, including Cabinet Ministers and other museum antiquities, is going to cost us more until we get the vote?

WAS IT ADAM AFTER ALL

There is some interesting psychology involved in the reported discovery of the second half of the clay tablet in the Nippur collection in the Pennsylvania University, from the first half of which Dr. Stephen Langdon, of Jesus College, Oxford, recently drew the conclusion that Adam and not Eve first ate the apple in the Garden of Eden. A copy of the second half, according to the *Daily Sketch*, is being forwarded to Dr. Langdon, and is said completely to establish Eve's innocence.

The case being still *sub judice*, as it were, we reserve our ultimate opinion on the matter. We cannot help observing, however, that it is at least remarkable that after centuries of injustice Eve should come into her own at this period of the world's history when a tardy justice in all matters is at last beginning to be shown towards women. We do not mean to imply, of course, that the clay tablet could have been discovered a minute before it was! If anti-feminists had tried to keep it secret, journalism would have made secrecy impossible. But its discovery at this psychological moment does look as though the angels were on the side of the Suffrage movement.

SAFER AMONG SAVAGES

The following letter appeared in the *Daily News* on July 2 from a writer signing herself "A Canadian Woman":—

"Sir, I recently read in your columns a review of a book by a lady explorer who (as your reviewer remarked) travelled throughout Central Africa alone, passing among the most wild and savage tribes unmolested and safe. Can we say a woman is as safe in civilised England among Englishmen as among those African savages? I answer from experience dearly bought—No! she is not."

"On Sunday afternoon I went alone to Hyde Park, and whilst listening to a speaker on Mrs. Fawcett's platform I was suddenly surrounded by a howling mob of well-dressed hooligans, who shrieked a desire to 'duck' me in the Serpentine, and who might have done so but for the one true Englishman in the crowd who intervened. I was possibly mistaken for a suffragette. I am not a suffragette, nor do I approve of the militant tactics. But the point I wish you Englishmen to ponder is this: A lone woman is in these days safer in an uncivilised country among savages than she is in England's public streets and parks in daylight and among Englishmen. It will restore some of my old belief in English fair play if you will print this letter."

"THE TRUE CURE FOR ANARCHY"**Petresses' View**

A letter, deploring militancy, but condemning the Government for its origin and continuance, appeared in the *Church Family Newspaper* last Friday week, over the signatures of Lady Selborne, Lady Robert Cecil, Lady Willoughby de Broke, and Lady Essex. In the course of it the writers say:—

"The true cure for anarchy is to teach people that the legal constitution will be so worked that they will have a fair hearing for their grievances and a fair opportunity for obtaining redress. Instead of the scrupulous justice which was specially necessary in dealing with those too excited to respect the law, the Government and the anti-Suffragists encountered the demand for the suffrage by a series of shabby tricks and sharp practices. If Bills for the Suffrage had not been talked out, or refused time, or 'torpedoed,' militancy

would probably never have arisen, or, if it had arisen, would not have gone to so great lengths. Constitutional liberty is the parent of order, and to trick people out of their opportunities under the Constitution is to tempt them into lawless courses."

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421	5/11	4/11
424	6/11	4/11
501	8/11	6/11
587	10/3	8/11
627	12/11	10/11
61	15/11	10/11
666	16/11	12/11

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FACTORY LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN

The following resolution against separate factory legislation for women, backed by the names of ten Danish, Swedish, Finnish and Norwegian women, including working women, presidents of women's Trade Unions, teachers, and physicians, was passed with only two dissentients at the Scandinavian Women's Congress held in Copenhagen on June 11:—

"At the suggestion of the undersigned, women from all classes of society from Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, assembled in the Second Scandinavian Women's Congress at Copenhagen on June 11, 1914, after thorough discussion and examination of the question of separate laws for women in industry and handicrafts, declare themselves opposed to such laws, except effective protection of motherhood by rest for confinement."

"The meeting declares in favour of protective legislation for both men and women, but protests against separate limitations for women only as detrimental to the position of working women on the labour market."

"Moreover, the stipulations of the law concerning the work and order and morality in factories and workshops should be the same for men and women. Otherwise, under the prevailing sharp competition, women may be more handicapped by arbitrary regulations than men."

PRISON FOR LADIES

Speaking on "Nursing in Prisons" at the National Council of Trained Nurses at Birmingham recently, Mrs. Maxwell St. John, R.R.C., said that as far as she had been able to ascertain there was in the prisons of England and Wales to-day one nurse with a three years' training doing hospital duty. She had trained an assistant who had worked under her for some years. This was in Aylesbury Women's Convict Prison. In Holloway Prison the maternity nurse had had nineteen years', and the other charge nurse fourteen years', prison hospital experience. In the men's prison the nursing was done by old R.A.M.C. men, and ex-captain stewards of the Royal Navy.

Suffragists and Prison Reform

So, it appears, men prisoners stand a better chance of being tended by trained nurses when ill than women prisoners do. Yet it is in women's prisons to-day that the terribly dangerous operation of forcible feeding of resisting patients is being carried on!

Mrs. St. John strongly advocated the employment in all prisons of carefully selected, fully trained nurses, and added an amusing account of a conversation she had with a governor of a prison in India, who was shocked at her suggestion, and said prison was not a place for ladies. Her answer to that was that the sooner prison became a place for ladies the better. In England, she added, it had already become a place for ladies, had it not? And she considered they had done some useful venturing for which we owed them deep gratitude.

FEDERAL COUNCIL AND WOMEN'S NATIONALITY

The Federated Council of Suffrage Societies passed unanimously a resolution on July 8, protesting against the treatment of married women by Mr. Harcourt in his British Nationality Bill, and calling upon Parliament "to accord to all British women—married, widowed, and single—the right to decide whether they shall retain, or change, or revert to, their own nationality."

WOMEN AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The effect of Mr. Herbert Samuel's new County and Borough Councils Bill will be to remove various anomalies, prominent among which is the one arising from the fact that under the present law married women, although otherwise qualified, cannot be councillors or aldermen of a county council (other than that of London), or of a municipal borough council, whereas unmarried women can be.

A SIGN OF LUNACY

One does feel that King George missed a great opportunity when he refused to receive a deputation of the Suffragettes in England. Why not? There are so very few uses to which a King can be put nowadays, and it seems to me the women were paying him an unusual compliment in assuming that his opinion either way would make any difference. The subject's right to petition the King in cases of oppression has been established through the centuries, and it would have given the monarchy a genuine raison d'être to show the world that there was still one section of his subjects who considered he had a little power. As it is, he has been at great pains to make it obvious that any subject who regards the King as the head of the realm and the fount of justice is a dangerous lunatic. -- Los Angeles Times.

PERSONAL!

He: "But women are so personal in their judgment."
She: "Oh, are they?"
He: "Yes, My wife is."

—New York Tribune.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

- Actresses' Franchise League.**
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Artists' Suffrage League.**
359, King's Road, S.W.
- Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association.**
O/o International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.
- Catholic Women's Suffrage Society.**
55, Barnes Street, Oxford Street, W.
- Church League for Women's Suffrage.**
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
- Civil Service Suffrage Society.**
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
- Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.**
18, Dover Street, W.
- East London Federation of the Suffragettes.**
321, Roman Road, Bow, E.
- Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies.**
51, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.
- Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.**
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
- Free Church League for Women's Suffrage.**
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane.
- Friends' League for Women's Suffrage.**
Walden, Gloucester.
- Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society.**
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
- International Suffrage Shop.**
11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Woman Suffrage Alliance.**
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Women's Franchise Club.**
9, Grafton Street, W.
- Irishwomen's Franchise League.**
Westmoreland Chambers, Westmoreland Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Reform League.**
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.**
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation.**
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Society.**
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.
- Jewish League for Woman Suffrage.**
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
- League of Justice.**
22, South Molton Street, W.
- Liberal Men's Suffrage Society.**
31, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.
- Liberal Women's Suffrage Union.**
Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.
- London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage.**
Chester Gate, Ealing.
- Marshall's Qui Vive Corps.**
Dunston, Peckham, Sussex.
- Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.**
Temp. Address: 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
- Men's League for Woman Suffrage.**
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
- Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement.**
11, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
- Men's Society for Women's Rights.**
65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.
- Munster Women's Franchise League.**
83, Grand Parade, Cork.
- National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society.**
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
- National Political League.**
Bank Buildings, 11, 13, James Street, S.W.
- National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.**
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
- New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage.**
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
- Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.**
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
- Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage.**
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
- Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage.**
2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.
- Spiritual Militancy League.**
46, Queen's Road, Baywater, W.
- Suffrage Atelier.**
Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
- Suffrage Club.**
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.
- "Suffrage First" Committee.**
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
- Suffrage Service League.**
29, Broadway, Westminster.
- Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee.**
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
- Theosophical Suffrage Society.**
19, Tavistock Square, W.C.
- United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies.**
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.
- United Suffragists.**
3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.
- Votes for Women Fellowship.**
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
- Wales for Women Organisation: Miss Phyllis Lovell.**
Wingate House, Ainsdale, Lancs.
- Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society.**
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.
- Women's Freedom League.**
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom.**
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
- Women's Social and Political Union.**
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
- Women's Tax Resistance League.**
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
- Women Teachers' Franchise Union.**
22, Moulton Road, Lee, E.S.
- Women Writers' Suffrage League.**
Grafton Buildings, Grafton Street, W.C.

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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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